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## Opera and Operetta in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i

STRATEGICALLY PLACED at the crossroads of the Pacific, Honolulu has enjoyed entertaining—and being entertained by—distinguished travelers and artists passing from California to China or Australia or vice versa from the 1840s to the present. Both troupes of professional players from abroad and local amateurs performed stage works—opera and operetta—by European and European-influenced composers in the nineteenth century; the city has a tradition of opera performance going back to at least 1854.<sup>1</sup>

At that time drama, whether sung or spoken, did not get a welcome from everyone in the Islands. However, a sophisticated audience for opera began to grow among wealthy whites easily familiar with the kinds of entertainment and leisure found in their travel abroad. By the 1870s a line of steamships had begun to run from San Francisco to Honolulu and from Honolulu to the British Pacific colonies.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, sea travel could be monotonous and fatiguing in those days; staterooms were cramped and food aboard ship had not much variety. Edmund Leathes, a British actor who performed in Honolulu, described the hardships of the trip from Sydney to the Islands aboard an 1870 steamer:

Steaming nearly due north [from Auckland] we were soon in the tropics; the intense heat adding to our other discomforts made life indeed a burden. At night it was insufferable; when I attempted to sleep "below" I was nearly suffocated by the unpleasantly odoriferous close-

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ness of the cabin. I sought repose on the deck, and was nearly choked by the deluge of smuts and small cinders wafted out of the funnel from the dirty Sydney coal. . . . It was a miserable voyage. . . .<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the discomfort of a long sea voyage, professional companies venturing to Honolulu in the nineteenth century had other potential adversities to consider:

The round trip [between North America and Hawai'i] occupies two weeks of constant expense without any income. The fares for the company of even ordinary size set a heavy mortgage on the receipts. The theater-going population of Honolulu . . . is limited, and three performances a week usually exhausts the supply. . . . Honolulu for its size is unusually cosmopolitan . . . visiting entertainers are made welcome at the outset, [but] they too often produce plays and operas that have been seen before under happier auspices, and although we cannot expect the best, we cannot help tiring of the mediocre.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of risks such as these, professional opera troupes continued to brave the hazards of a round trip from the mainland United States early in the twentieth century: the Lambardi, Bevani, and De Folco Companies came in 1913, 1915, and 1916 respectively; De Folco's venture was a complete financial failure. After the Hawaiian Opera House was torn down in 1917, a theater that could be used regularly for the presentation of Western opera and operetta was lacking. Only one professional troupe, the Japanese Fujiwara Opera Company, seems to have visited Hawai'i; it gave one performance of Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* in 1953 at McKinley High School, but it was en route from Japan to other destinations on the U.S. mainland. Otherwise, Hawai'i audiences seldom saw live opera or operetta after 1916 until the establishment of Hawaii Opera Theatre in 1960; only a few local productions, using mostly amateur singers, were mounted during that period.<sup>5</sup>

#### AUDIENCES

The audience for Western opera in Honolulu was of course mainly among whites, only 18 percent (2,026) of the city's population of 11,455 in 1853, although the proportion had risen by 1896 to 54

percent (16,082) of 29,920 inhabitants. Since Honolulu was and is an important seaport, seamen on shore leave were probably a significant part of the audience in the early years when opportunities for entertainment were limited. The Western-educated Hawaiian royalty were also enthusiastic supporters of opera and other kinds of theatrical representations in Honolulu. Alexander Liholiho (later Kamehameha IV), Lot Kamehameha (later Kamehameha V), Lili'uokalani, Bernice Pauahi Bishop, and other members of the Hawaiian nobility had been students in the 1840s at the Chiefs' Children's School, conducted by Juliette and Amos Starr Cooke, where they learned music from Juliette Cooke and Augusta Hooper, wife of the American consul. Several royal family members became composers of Hawaiian-language songs still widely performed in the Islands today. The foundations for the royal family's appreciation of music and nurturing of their natural musical talents were laid at the Chiefs' School.<sup>6</sup>

Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha were great admirers of European institutions; Liholiho was "in ideas and tastes . . . more European than Hawaiian." He and Lot Kamehameha visited France, England, and the United States during 1849–1850 and attended a number of operatic performances, including *Fra Diavolo* in Paris and *Lucia di Lammermoor* in Philadelphia. The royal family occasionally took an active part in stage presentations. For example, Queen Emma sang in the chorus of an 1861 presentation of scenes from *Il Trovatore* and *Martha*, and King Liholiho acted as stage manager and defrayed expenses of the production. Likewise, Princess Likelike and Bernice Pauahi Bishop sang in the chorus of a production of *H.M.S. Pinafore* in 1881. A cliché of numerous dramatic plots concerns a person of noble blood disguised as a commoner. Where else but in Hawai'i would one have found real princesses performing as chorus girls in an operetta?<sup>7</sup> And where else, for that matter, would one have found a princess as church organist? Lili'uokalani served in that capacity at Kawaiaha'o Church in the years before she was queen. Urban Native Hawaiians became familiar with Western classical music in concerts heard at Kawaiaha'o and at Kaumakapili, the other native church.

Native Hawaiians also liked the theater; the English actor Charles Mathews saw "chiefesses and ladies of every tinge" and "a pit full of Kanakas" when he performed at the Royal Hawaiian Theatre in

February 1871, but performances of opera probably did not draw as many Hawaiians. Recitals of Western music began to be advertised occasionally in Hawaiian-language newspapers as early as 1866, when an announcement of a recital by the prima donna Anna Bishop appeared in *Ke Au Okoa*. The impending 1896 opening of the Hawaiian Opera House received extensive coverage in *Nupepa Kuokoa*, with ink portraits of the principal singers, a drawing of the interior of the theater showing the stage with its drop curtain, and a synopsis of Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, performed on opening night.<sup>8</sup>

Although a considerable number of Chinese immigrated to Hawai'i during 1850–1900 and Japanese during 1875–1900, Asian immigrants probably did not attend Western theatrical performances in any great numbers during this time because of the language barrier and cultural differences. A theater for the performance of “Cantonese opera” was built in Chinatown in the late 1870s, and a Japanese theater was built only in 1899, at the end of this period. White residents of Honolulu had little understanding of or interest in Asian theater. English-language newspapers occasionally “reviewed” performances at the Chinese theater, chiefly to ridicule them.<sup>9</sup>

#### OPPOSITION TO THEATERS

Opposition to the presentation of drama existed among the Christian missionaries, an influential presence in the Islands, but they were not the only antagonists; disapprobation of the theater existed elsewhere in plenty. “A sizable segment of the mid-Victorian population . . . would not set foot inside a theatre. Plays—and players—were considered . . . immoral,” notes a historian of operetta.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, Shakespeare was enormously popular in the nineteenth century, and people who shunned performances of lusty melodramas might be willing to attend a performance of a Shakespeare play. Likewise, opera, especially when the meaning of its text was cloaked by performance in a foreign tongue, was less likely to offend the sensibilities of those who might object to it on moral grounds or who did not take the trouble to acquaint themselves with the subject matter of its frequently quite worldly scenarios. Annis Montague (1846–1920), née Mary Cooke, daughter of Amos and Juliette Cooke, sang operatic selections at concerts to benefit Fort

Street Church in the 1860s, but when she decided to take up a career as an opera singer

"Mother" Cooke was filled with anguish . . . [and] worried about her daughter's soul. . . . Her convictions as a consecrated missionary led her to believe that the stage (including opera) was an evil to be shunned by those who sought their soul's salvation.

Juliette later became resigned to her daughter's chosen career and even proud of her accomplishments.<sup>11</sup>

A journalist writing in the *Polynesian*, an important early Honolulu newspaper, commented at the 1847 opening of the short-lived Thespian Theatre that it was the vice allied with the drama, that is, the selling of alcoholic beverages, rather than the drama itself, that was objected to by those who opposed theaters; this cavil was forestalled by the prohibition of a bar on the premises of the Thespian. Drama per se, however, was not rejected by churchgoers, and by mid-century even Honolulu Sunday school associations were producing temperance plays. On the other hand, the selling of alcoholic drinks on or near theater premises was still an issue at the end of the century, when the Orpheum Theatre attempted to obtain a license to sell liquor.<sup>12</sup>

## THEATERS

As far as is known, all operas and operettas presented in the Islands in the nineteenth century were performed only in Honolulu theaters. One of the most important of these was the Royal Hawaiian, at the Waikiki mauka corner of Hotel and Alakea Streets, opened in June 1848. It was described by Charles Warren Stoddard about 1867 as "a quaint old-fashioned building . . . in the midst of a beautiful garden." The earliest opera production in Hawai'i, Donizetti's *A Daughter of the Regiment*, occurred in 1854 not at the Royal Hawaiian, but at the Varieties Theatre, which had opened in September 1853, "a big shell of a wooden structure . . . on King street." The Varieties burned to the ground two years later in a fire that was thought to have been set.<sup>13</sup> The Music Hall (later called the Hawaiian Opera House) opened in 1881, the year the Royal Hawaiian was torn down. It stood



FIG. 1. Annis Montague (Mary Cooke) as Carmen in a local production staged in 1904. (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society)

at the corner now occupied by the downtown post office at the Waikiki makai corner of King and Merchant Streets. It was partly destroyed by fire in 1895; a new Hawaiian Opera House built by William G. Irwin and John and Adolph Spreckels on the same spot opened in November 1896. It was torn down in 1917 to make way for a federal building. Finally, the Orpheum Theatre, situated on Fort Street above Beretania, a wooden building constructed mainly for the presentation of vaudeville, opened in December 1898.<sup>14</sup>

None of these theaters was built on a large scale; the Royal Hawaiian seated 500, the Music Hall seated 671, the Hawaiian Opera House, 966, the Orpheum, 750, later enlarged to accommodate 945 persons. All had separate sections occupied by different portions of the audience. The Varieties, the Music Hall, and the Hawaiian Opera House had boxes, pit, and gallery, and the two latter theaters even had separate entrances for different segments of the paying public. Voices would not have had to strain to make themselves heard in their intimate interiors as in a hall like today's Blaisdell Concert Hall, which seats 2,107 persons. These early theaters also had smaller stages. The builders planned the Royal Hawaiian Theatre's stage area to be twenty-eight by thirty feet and no more than fifty feet from any part of the house; by way of comparison, the Blaisdell Concert Hall's stage is about fifty feet wide under the proscenium (the stage deck behind the proscenium is seventy-six feet wide). Small nineteenth-century stages had less space for maneuvers; the Orpheum's, with an opening only thirty-three feet in width, greatly hampered the Southwell Company's productions in 1900, and the stage at a performance of *Faust* at the Hawaiian Opera House in December 1899, with more than seventy persons onstage, must have been very crowded indeed.<sup>15</sup>

When the Thespian Theatre opened in 1847 the newspapers noted that "[a] strong and efficient Police will be constantly in attendance. The house will be well lighted." Unruly sailors on shore leave were probably a significant part of audiences at that time in Honolulu, where opportunities for entertainment were limited, and the presence of police probably deterred their potential bad behavior. The declaration about lighting may have also discouraged the rowdiness of sailors, but perhaps it also provided an attraction for those persons who wanted to scan their neighbors, a pastime audiences have been addicted to from time immemorial. Since all parts of the





FIG. 2. The Honolulu Music Hall (later known as the Opera House), was built in 1881 at the corner of King and Richards Streets. It was gutted by fire in 1895 and replaced the next year by a second opera house. (Hawaiian Historical Society)

house were more or less equally lighted, the audience's attention cannot always have been focused on the drama as it is in twentieth-century theaters, with their darkened auditoriums and brightly lit stages. The English actor Edmund Leathes described a performance at the Royal Hawaiian Theatre in 1870 "lighted entirely by lamps fed with pea-nut oil . . . as the lamps were many the light was tolerably good." The 1881 Music Hall, lighted by gas fueled by a Springfield gas machine, was the first Honolulu theater to be so equipped; the change from oil lamps to the steadier, brighter light of gas was the first step in a revolution in Honolulu theater lighting; partial electrification, which occurred with the installation of some electric lights in the stage area by 1890, continued the revolution, which reached completion when the 1896 Opera House and the 1898 Orpheum Theatre entirely replaced the candles and gas lamps of an earlier era with electricity.<sup>16</sup>

These early theaters had stage machinery, traps, and sets, but no air conditioning. The weather must have affected the success of nineteenth-century theater productions far more than it does today. The





FIG. 3. A new Hawaiian Opera House was built in 1896 on the site of the previous opera hall. It remained until 1917, when it was razed to make way for a new federal building. (Hawaiian Historical Society)

Royal Hawaiian had “long windows, of the kind that slide down into a third of their natural height, [that] were opened to the breeze; great dragon-flies sailed in and out at leisure,” but it was stifling on a warm tropical evening. It is doubtful whether even the powerful electric fan installed in the 1896 Hawaiian Opera House was adequate to cool a capacity audience.<sup>17</sup>

#### SOLOISTS AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE REPERTORY

Performances by professional opera companies and local amateurs were not the only means by which knowledge of the operatic repertory was spread in the Islands. Between occasional stage presentations, the repertory was kept alive by the performance of operatic numbers at recitals of concert music such as those given by the Amateur Musical Society (AMS), founded in 1853 by some of the most prominent citizens of the kingdom. A concert by the society on 29 December 1859 at Fort Street Church, for example, concluded with the finale from Bellini’s *Norma*. Starting in the 1870s, Henry

Berger (1844–1929) conducted the Royal Hawaiian Band in opera overtures on its frequent concerts. Berger, a Prussian bandmaster of immense energy who arrived in Hawai'i in 1882, was the outstanding musical personality in the Islands during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Arranger, conductor, composer, and performer, he and the band presented literally thousands of concerts for all sorts of occasions; he and a small contingent of band members also frequently provided music for theater productions. Toward the end of the century, he began to present Native Hawaiian female vocal soloists with the band in arrangements of lengthy sung excerpts from various operas.<sup>18</sup>

Knowledge of the repertory was also furthered by a few internationally known soloists who gave recitals in Honolulu during the third quarter of the century. They included: Catherine Hayes, known as "The Swan of Erin," in 1854; Elisa Biscaccianti, known as "the American Thrush," in 1861; the English soprano Anna Bishop in 1866; the Hungarian contralto Josephine D'Ormay in 1867, and the Croatian coloratura soprano Ilma di Murska, who billed herself as "the Hungarian nightingale," in 1875. These soloists frequently sang arias by Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, and Verdi; selections by Handel, Balfe, Auber, and Meyerbeer, as well as English ballads, were also common on their recitals. "Kathleen Mavourneen," "Home, Sweet Home," "The Last Rose of Summer," and songs by the English composer/singer Henry Russell were some of their favorites.<sup>19</sup>

These globetrotting artists had to be ready for the dangers of travel. Madame Anna Bishop and her retinue were shipwrecked on uninhabited Wake Island on 4 March 1866 after leaving Honolulu for China in the Bremen bark *Libelle* on 18 February. Finding no potable water, they set sail in two lifeboats, one of which was lost; the boat containing Madame Bishop survived, reaching Guam after thirteen days; the diva, apparently unfazed, continued her recital tour.<sup>20</sup>

#### PROFESSIONAL PERFORMANCES OF OPERA AND OPERETTA

Professional traveling operatic troupes visited the Islands infrequently in the nineteenth century and their arrival was an event. Those best equipped brought trained solo voices, costumes, perhaps a small chorus and a few musicians to provide accompaniment, and

made do with whatever scenery local theaters possessed. Professionals less well equipped mounted productions that depended on local resources.

Honolulu did not see an opera production until 1854, partly because of its isolated location, and gaps of several years separated ensuing staged presentations of operas until the 1880s. Nevertheless, Honolulu audiences saw more or less complete performances of about fourteen operas and twenty-four operettas in the nineteenth century, and numerous works were presented in part—both in staged and concert versions. Many of these works were being produced during the same period in the United States and especially in San Francisco, the origin of several of the professional companies that visited the Islands. Before 1880, Italian composers such as Donizetti and Verdi dominated the Honolulu stage. After 1880, operas by composers of French, English, and German nationalities received greater representation.

A small cast of singing actors presented the first operatic performance in Hawai'i, Donizetti's *Daughter of the Regiment*, on 11 February 1854. The leading role in *Daughter* was performed by Emma Waller (1820–1899), an English actress and wife of Daniel Wilmarth Waller (c. 1824–1882), an American actor of modest repute, supported by a small cast of players who had drifted to Honolulu from California and Australia. Daniel Waller acted as stage manager for the production, which was probably accompanied by a single pianist or small ensemble; the pianist may have provided musical direction. It is unlikely that costumes for the production were highly individualized, since they, like the scenery, were probably used in other stage works presented by the Wallers and their players in the course of their three-and-a-half-month season at the Varieties Theatre. Emma and Daniel arrived in Honolulu in December 1853 after performing widely in California and sailed on to Australia by way of China at the end of their season. Emma would make her American debut as Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in Philadelphia in 1857—three years after audiences in the Hawaiian kingdom had seen her in the part.<sup>21</sup>

The kingdom had only recently recovered from a smallpox epidemic that killed many residents, especially Native Hawaiians, and was ready for the kind of diversion that a theatrical season could pro-

vide. A playbill advertised the evening's entertainment on which *Daughter* appeared as "Opera and Tragedy Night," coupling the opera with a play by the Irish dramatist Charles Maturin, *The Sicilian Pirate* (also known by the title *Bertram*). In spite of the billing, *Daughter* may have been performed as a play in English with copious musical insertions rather than as a full-blown opera, since it was frequently given in this form in English-speaking countries. Emma and Daniel may have seen the 27 November 1853 performance of *Daughter* given in this form in San Francisco at the American Theatre. However, Emma must have become acquainted with the opera well before that. It was performed widely in the United States by the peripatetic Seguin Operatic Troupe during 1848–1851.<sup>22</sup>

The playbill listed four pieces featured in the performance, probably all sung by Emma Waller. One of the pieces was the famous "Rataplan"; the three other titles were in English. One of the pieces, "Thou art gone from my gaze," was probably an inserted number; a song of that title was popular in the United States in 1852. Emma's renown as a singer was as a performer of English and Irish ballads, not in opera, and probably not in the agile kind of *bel canto* singing required by the role of Madeleine (Marie) in *Daughter*.<sup>23</sup>

Honolulu had to wait eight years to see its next professional operatic performance, presented by Eugenio and Giovanna Bianchi and their company in 1862. The Bianchis had distinguished careers in San Francisco, where the famous theatrical promoter Tom Maguire presented them in performances of Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and *Ernani* in 1859, the former a San Francisco premiere; they left Maguire to establish their own opera company at the American Theatre, where they produced Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia* and Bellini's *Norma*. The Bianchis did not perform in the eastern United States or in Europe; their reputation was mostly limited to the U.S. West Coast and Australia. Indeed, it was on their way back to San Francisco from Australia, where they had performed *Trovatore* and other operas, that they made their Honolulu appearance in selections from *Trovatore*, *Ernani*, and *Lucrezia* and single pieces from several other Italian operas, all in unstaged concert performances.<sup>24</sup>

Another long interval elapsed before a professional operatic performance was given in Honolulu. Agatha States, an American

soprano, passed through Honolulu with her company in 1871 on the way from California to Australia. Madame States had studied in Italy in the mid-1860s and sung in opera houses in Florence, Madrid, Paris, and London; among her 1868–1869 New York performances were a starring role in the Italian-language performance of Wallace's *Lurline*, given the night after the English-language New York premiere in May 1869. Among her singing colleagues in Honolulu were the bass Augusto Susini, "the real star of the company," and tenor Pietro Cecchi, who later achieved "second-hand immortality" as the first teacher of the great Australian soprano Dame Nellie Melba. The States Company staged two operas more or less complete, Donizetti's *Don Pasquale* and Rossini's *Barber of Seville*, and presented selections from six others—Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Verdi's *Ernani*, *Il Trovatore*, *I Vespri Siciliani*, and *Un Ballo in Maschera*, and Gounod's *Faust*, the company's only non-Italian offering; these six seem to have been presented partly with costumes and scenery, partly in concert versions. Madame States returned to America after the end of the company's Australian tour, but most of her singers stayed in Australia. The Bianchi and States companies presented Italian operas in the original language.<sup>25</sup>

In May and June 1885, Hawai'i-born Annis Montague and her husband, Charles H. Turner, presented several evening concerts over a period of several weeks in Honolulu at the Music Hall. Their Montague-Turner Opera Company had been active in Australia and New Zealand. Their concerts featured one or more scenes or excerpts from operas that they had performed in Australia or elsewhere—*Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Trovatore*, *Bohemian Girl*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, and *Faust*.<sup>26</sup>

Known as "the Hawaiian nightingale," Annis Montague actually spoke fluent Hawaiian (Montague was her mother's maiden name). She had a modest operatic career that has received little publicity. Her mother, the music teacher of several members of Native Hawaiian royalty, as mentioned above, possessed a beautiful voice. Annis's voice teacher in Honolulu was Eugene Hasslocher, a close friend of Queen Emma and director of the AMS when it performed scenes from *Il Trovatore* and Flotow's *Martha* in 1861. After voice training in Europe under Pierre François Wartel, she debuted in New York with

the Kellogg English Opera Company in 1875 in the role of Marguerite de Valois in Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*. In 1879 she and Turner, a British tenor and opera producer she had met in Boston, performed the lead roles in a landmark American operetta by the Italian impresario and composer Max Maretzek, *Sleepy Hollow or The Headless Horseman* with a libretto adapted from Washington Irving's story. She and Turner married in 1880 and formed their own company, the Montague-Turner English Opera Company, and performed in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia. In 1882, the couple starred two seasons at the Bijou Theatre and a season of Verdi at the Opera House in Melbourne in 1883. After Turner died suddenly in 1894, his wife returned to Honolulu, where she was prominent as a performer and teacher.<sup>27</sup>

Honolulu was not always fortunate in the professionals who offered opera in its theaters. In October 1885, Antonio Farini, an obscure Italian baritone whose activity can be traced in New York in 1875–1876, presented with a small company of singers seven concerts which featured scenes from *Trovatore*, *Faust*, and *Martha* in costume with “scenic effects.” Signor Farini had shrewdly minimized the risks of bringing a professional company to Honolulu by first visiting the city and soliciting “season subscriptions” in advance for a series of seven concerts as a guarantee against the expenses of a round trip from San Francisco for his company. Honolulu music lovers, with pleasant memories of Montague-Turner still ringing in their ears, dug into their pockets for the \$2,500 Farini required. Unfortunately, the Farini Company suffered by comparison with Montague-Turner, in Honolulu only a few months before. Writing in his private journal, Henry Berger noted on 23 October 1885: “Grand opera not good. Farini an ass.” At one concert Farini, also a pianist, attempted a piano solo which sounded, according to a reviewer, “as if he were thumping an anvil.” On programs of Honolulu recitals it is frequently noted that a certain number is performed “by special request.” One such request occasioned an acerbic comment by the same concert reviewer:

Whoever made a “special request” that Miss Avery [a member of the Farini company] should impersonate *Martha* is not likely to do so again. Her singing of the “Last Rose of Summer” came as near murder as singing can.<sup>28</sup>

Five years passed and memories of vocal murder by visiting professionals presumably faded. Performers from the San Francisco Tivoli Theatre calling themselves the Tivoli Comedy Company presented several comedies in Honolulu during July 1890 and three of the performers presented Offenbach's operetta *The Rose of Auvergne*. One of these, bass W. H. Hamilton, got together a larger company in San Francisco, the so-called New York Bijou Opera Company, consisting of Hamilton, soprano Camille Mouri, and several other solo singers and a small chorus, and brought it to Honolulu in 1891. This was one of three larger companies that came to Honolulu during the last decade of the century.<sup>29</sup>

The New York Bijou Company probably had little connection with New York. Hamilton and Muori had just finished a San Francisco engagement with the C. D. Hess Opera Company at the Powell Street Theatre. The group presented six operas in Honolulu—three by Italians, Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* and Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and *Rigoletto*; Gounod's *Faust*; Balfe's *Bohemian Girl*; and Flotow's *Martha*—and two operettas, Audran's *Mascotte* and the inevitable *Pinafore* by Gilbert and Sullivan.<sup>30</sup>

Another troupe, the eighty-member Boston Lyric Opera Company, opened a season that lasted from November 1899 through mid-January 1900. Publicity for the company began in the newspapers two months before it reached Honolulu. Early in September the *Advertiser* mentioned a letter received from Governor Lind of Minnesota, where the company had just closed a successful summer season, vouching for the company's representative. The company was to bring \$76,000 worth of costumes; its tenor, Henry Hallam, was touted as "the best and highest salaried tenor on the American stage." The Lyrics persuaded Hawai'i's own Annis Montague to sing the female lead in its performance of *Faust*. The company had learned the value of advance publicity and local contacts in creating an audience.<sup>31</sup>

Sailing to Honolulu after an engagement in Vancouver, B.C., the Boston Lyric Opera Company was one of the few nineteenth-century companies that did not come through San Francisco. They presented a mixture of operas and operettas; the latter had been performed widely in the United States but are seldom heard now—for example, *La Mascotte* and *Olivette* by Edmond Audran, *Giroflé-Girofla* by Charles



Lecocq, and *Chimes of Normandy* by Robert Planquette. First Honolulu performances of Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* and Bizet's *Carmen* were among their other notable productions. The troupe moved from the Opera House to the Orpheum Theatre after Christmas. Joel Cohen, manager of the Orpheum and an important figure in the theater business in Honolulu from the time of his arrival in the Islands in the 1890s, offered the Lyrics a guarantee against financial losses. The Orpheum audiences, used to more mundane theater fare, seemed to "enjoy the change from smashing glass balls and feats of ventriloquism to the strains of Grand Opera."<sup>32</sup>

Cohen considered opera/operetta at the Orpheum a successful experiment; he arranged for another season in May/June 1900 with a troupe calling itself the Southwell Opera Company, but this company did not fare as well as the Boston Lyrics. Most of the principals among the Southwells' thirty-six players had finished a year's engagement in April 1900 at the Grand Opera-house (the Morosco Theatre) in San Francisco. The Southwells presented a number of works new to the Islands, such as Millöcker's *Beggar Student*, Offenbach's *Duchess of Gérolstein*, Johann Strauss II's *Queen's Lace Handkerchief*, and John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan*, the only sung dramatic work by an American composer performed in Honolulu in the nineteenth century. The Southwells' featured singers, William Wolff, Hattie Bell Ladd, Bessie Fairbain, and Winfred Goff, had made their way at the Morosco Theatre, and two others, Phil Branson and Tillie Sallinger, were well known for their work at the San Francisco Tivoli Theatre, but apparently many of the company's performers were new and inexperienced; they played out an engagement of six weeks and called it quits. No more professional companies visited the Islands until 1913.<sup>33</sup>

Operettas, even those with the text originally in foreign languages, were sung in English translation by the New York Bijou, the Boston Lyric, and the Southwell companies. The New York Bijou Company gave *Faust* and perhaps other operas in English. The lighter pieces these companies presented had new dances and songs and local allusions inserted for the amusement of Honolulu audiences. The Boston Lyric Company's 1899 performance of Offenbach's *La belle Hélène* featured a cakewalk, at that time a popular American dance; parts of *Hélène* and Stahl's *Said Pasha* were cleaned up for straight-laced Honolulu audiences.<sup>34</sup>

Toward the end of the century, traveling opera troupes brought their own small choruses to Honolulu. A chorus was probably improvised from the singing actors who took part in the 1854 *Daughter of the Regiment* production; Honolulu did not have sufficient singers capable of performing on short notice as an opera chorus in 1854. A male chorus of Native Hawaiians sang when Agatha States's troupe performed *Trovatore* in 1871; likewise, a local chorus sang in performances of the same work at the Montague-Turner concerts in 1885. These professional companies used a reduced accompaniment. Agatha States brought her own pianist in 1871, but more often, local pianists were pressed into service and sometimes local singers also. Professional troupes were sometimes assisted by a somewhat larger group of instrumentalists; Henry Berger led a small contingent of players from the Royal Hawaiian Band in accompaniment of the Boston Lyric Opera Company in 1899.<sup>35</sup>

#### AMATEUR PERFORMANCES OF OPERA AND OPERETTA

"Like other somewhat isolated places," wrote a Honolulu journalist in 1904, "Honolulu must amuse itself by its own resources through the always popular form of entertainment which has driven ennui from many a colony, many a regimental post, many a town or cantonment along the byways of the world—'Amateur Theatricals.'" Local amateur musicians and actors, many of them members of the social elite who were the real rulers of the kingdom of Hawai'i, presented numerous dramatic productions in the later nineteenth century.<sup>36</sup>

King Liholiho and Queen Emma, showing their taste for Western culture, took an active part in the first local operatic production on 8 March 1861, when musicians associated with the Amateur Musical Society performed scenes from Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and Flotow's *Martha* at the Royal Hawaiian Theatre before an audience of two hundred invited guests. Most of the persons who sang in the performance are not known by name, since it was the policy of the newspapers and, indeed, of the Amateur Musical Society itself at this time, not to publish the names of amateur singers. (A few years later this policy was abandoned.) It is known, however, that the king acted

as stage manager for the production and defrayed the expenses of the entertainment and that Queen Emma sang in the chorus. Theo Davies, later a founder of one of the "Big Five" companies of the Hawaiian business world, crossed the stage with the queen on his arm in one scene.<sup>37</sup>

A program for the performance in the possession of the Hawai'i State Archives noted that "[T]he pieces selected for the Performance [are] only *parts* of operas. . . ." No claim was made that the performance as a whole was any more than episodes from two different operas, Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and Flotow's *Martha*. Various numbers from other sources were interpolated in the scenes in the manner of pastiche. Some of these were in the original language ("Casta diva" from Bellini's opera *Norma*), others in translation ("Ah, don't mingle," based on "Ah! non giunge" from Bellini's opera *La Sonnambula*). The inclusion of "Lass of Richmond Hill," a well-known song by the English composer James Hook, was probably suggested by Richmond, the locale of *Martha*.<sup>38</sup>

From 1880 to 1900 more operettas than operas were performed in Honolulu. These included works by French composers such as Offenbach, Audran, Lecocq, and Planquette, by the Austrian Johann Strauss, and by the Englishman Arthur Sullivan. All of these composers were widely performed in the United States at that time. English operetta with works by Arthur Sullivan and his librettist, W. S. Gilbert, was established with the exportation of *H.M.S. Pinafore*, premiered in London in May 1878. The first American production had occurred in Boston in November 1878, and the work was an instant hit when performed all over the United States the following year. The work inaugurated what Deane L. Root has called "a new direction in American popular stage music." Several *Pinafore* companies toured to San Francisco; the manager of the Tivoli Gardens picked the best talent from these troupes to create a Tivoli *Pinafore* company, which ran for eighty-four nights, always to full houses. A troupe from San Francisco, the Gayton Combination Company, brought an inferior production of *Pinafore* to Honolulu in 1880. It ran for only a few performances, but local interest in Gilbert and Sullivan was great enough to occasion an amateur production the following year. Part of the appeal of Gilbert and Sullivan's operettas for British and American audiences was that, unlike their French coun-

terparts, they lacked vulgarity or sexual suggestiveness, a circumstance that would have especially recommended them to the staid citizens of the Hawaiian kingdom.<sup>39</sup>

Honolulu amateurs staged five Gilbert and Sullivan operettas in the later nineteenth century and presented concert versions of one other. All were society affairs and names associated with the white elite of the kingdom—Castle, Dowsett, Lewers, Paty, Swanzy, and others—are found among the singers taking part. *Pinafore* was the first to be produced; six performances were given in 1881, one of the



FIG. 4. Henry Berger was one of the most influential figures in Hawai'i music circles around the turn of the century. This portrait was painted by Arthur W. Emerson. (Hawaiian Historical Society)

first presentations in the newly finished Music Hall. The following year the Honolulu Amateur Dramatic Club presented another Gilbert and Sullivan favorite, *Trial by Jury*. In 1888 selections from *Patience* were performed (Offenbach's *Blind Beggars* was presented at the same performance), and in 1890, *The Mikado* was given a stage performance.<sup>40</sup>

Local productions of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe* and *The Sorcerer* were given respectively in June/July and September 1891, the first performed by young people. Ernestine Gray, a local dancing teacher, directed both productions. The production of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas by juveniles was part of a tradition. The Savoy Theatre in London, home of the authoritative D'Oyly Carte productions of Gilbert and Sullivan, presented a children's company in *Pinafore* and *Pirates of Penzance* in the 1880s; American juvenile productions of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas were also produced in New York and San Francisco.<sup>41</sup>

Honolulu amateurs brought the century to a close in November 1896 with a sumptuous production of Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, mounted to showcase the facilities of the Hawaiian Opera House. The occasion was a gala affair, attended by Honolulu society in full evening dress. Annis Montague and Henry Berger, the two most influential musicians in Hawai'i, took part in the production, she as singing coach and prima donna, he as the director of the orchestra. (Berger had also conducted or himself played in small orchestras drawn from the Royal Hawaiian Band in productions of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas in 1880, 1890, and 1891.)<sup>42</sup>

## BURLESQUES

Professional companies offering burlesques or parodies of well-known operas and operettas were common in the United States, especially after 1850; their existence shows that audiences were familiar enough with the dramatis personae and turns of plot of the originals to enjoy parodies of them. Often, the original music was used in the burlesque; such was the case with a group of entertainers called The Tourists who came to Honolulu from San Francisco in 1882. Two of the Tourists performers, Mr. Eugene and John Unsworth, had been members of Dan Bryant's Minstrels in New York

during the late 1860s and early 1870s, a company that presented burlesques among its variety acts. Mr. Eugene, a female impersonator, played the title role in a burlesque of Offenbach's *The Grand Duchess of Gérolstein* in Honolulu. A third member of the group, Gilbert Sarony, had performed with Emerson's Minstrels at Emerson's Standard Theatre in San Francisco in January 1882. The Tourists also presented *Pin-a-4* (Sullivan's *Pinafore*), and *Ill True-Bad-Doer* (the title of the parody is a play on both the original title of Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and a translation of the title, *The Troubadour*). *The Grand Duchess* had had its American premiere in New York in 1867 and became quickly popular in the United States, occasioning several burlesques in the late 1860s. *Trovatore* and *Pinafore* had of course been performed in Honolulu.<sup>43</sup>

A spoof of the kingdom's government was the occasion for a burlesque of *Pinafore* by a local amateur group, the American Minstrel Company, in 1887. Arthur Sullivan's music was fitted with words adapted to current local affairs. King Kalākaua and his chief minister, Walter Murray Gibson, had made a treaty to form a Polynesian confederation dominated by Hawai'i and decided to send its navy of one ship, the gunboat *Kaimiloa* (Hawaiian for "far-seeker"), on an embassy to the Samoan Islands. The *Kaimiloa* was commanded by a chronic drunkard, George E. Gresley Jackson, a former lieutenant in the British navy, but more recently principal of the Honolulu Reformatory School. The ship was manned by a crew of sixty-three, including twenty-four young men from the Reformatory. Three of the ship's officers were dismissed for intoxication or insubordination before the ship set sail in mid-May 1887. The Minstrels' spoof, performed about two weeks after the *Kaimiloa* sailed, presupposed an abundance of square-face gin as the principal article in the ship's stores and commented freely on the method of conferring government decorations in the kingdom.<sup>44</sup>

## SUMMARY

Nineteenth-century Honolulu audiences became familiar with many of the same operas and operettas that were being produced in the United States and especially in San Francisco, where several of the professional companies that visited the Islands originated. In the

twentieth century, professional touring companies eventually decided that making a round trip to Honolulu was not worth the risk.

Most of the operas presented in Honolulu from 1854 to 1900 were by nineteenth-century Italian composers, especially Donizetti and Verdi. A turning point in the history of music drama in Hawai'i came in 1880; in that year a professional company initiated an interest in operetta by presenting Gilbert and Sullivan's *Pinafore*. The intense local interest in Gilbert and Sullivan in the Islands resulted also in many local amateur productions of the English pair. From 1880 to the end of the century, professional companies that specialized particularly in the lighter form presented a mixture of dramatic works, but more operettas than operas—the operas no longer solely Italian in origin but supplemented with works by composers of other nationalities: French—Gounod's *Faust* and Bizet's *Carmen*; English—Balfe's *Bohemian Girl*, Wallace's *Maritana*; and German—Flotow's *Martha*.

Two individuals, the immigrant Prussian bandmaster Henry Berger and the Hawai'i-born singer Annis Montague, were key figures who enriched musical life, he, mainly in the Islands, she, both at home and abroad. Berger provided constant support as accompanist and conductor of musical events, frequently programming music from the operatic repertory. Montague had an international career; she was influential in Hawai'i both as a teacher and performer.

Today, as in the nineteenth century, Hawai'i is a steppingstone in the Pacific from North America to Australia and Asia. Consequently, the Islands still enjoy artists who stop over to perform on their way to or from somewhere else. However, the professional presentation of opera, an expensive and spectacular entertainment, requires now as in the nineteenth century a number of elements that are not available in mid-Pacific. (Operetta, except for Gilbert and Sullivan, is now seldom performed in the United States, having been supplanted by musical comedy.) In order to produce opera of professional quality, Hawaii Opera Theatre, founded in 1960, has found it necessary to supplement local talent with imported professionals in much the same way that the imported Wallers presented Hawai'i's first opera in 1854 with local help. Fortunately, the presentation of opera in Hawai'i occurs now much more frequently than in the nineteenth



century; a well-supported yearly opera season with multiple performances of three operas is now the rule, showing a vigorous local interest in a genre that continues to draw enthusiastic patrons.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> European and European-influenced opera is sung drama with instrumental accompaniment. Operetta is also accompanied, but it is lighter, appeals more to middle-class audiences, and uses spoken dialogue rather than the sung recitative used in opera. Operetta became a distinct genre around the middle of the nineteenth century and was cultivated first in France, Austria, and England.
- <sup>2</sup> Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1874–1893, *The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1967) 103–05.
- <sup>3</sup> Edmund Leathes, *An Actor Abroad* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1880) 79.
- <sup>4</sup> Allen Dunn, "Honolulu's Developing Dramatic and Musical Talent," *HAA for 1905* (Honolulu: Thomas G. Thrum, 1904): 125.
- <sup>5</sup> Robert Guild, "'Madame Butterfly' Impressively Done by Japan Company," *HSB* 30 July 1953: 6.
- <sup>6</sup> Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1955): 48; Clarice B. Taylor, "Tales of Hawaii," *HSB* 14 Apr. 1950: 28.
- <sup>7</sup> John Holt, *Monarchy in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hogarth Press, 1971) 19; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 2, 1854–1874, *Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1953) 34–35; Jacob Adler, ed., *The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P for the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1967) 67, 99; "Our Amateur Company Performing 'Pinafore,'" *PCA* 21 May 1881: [4].
- <sup>8</sup> Charles Dickens, ed., *The Life of Charles James Mathews* (London: Macmillan, 1879) 2: 227–28; "Madama Anne Bishop," *Ke Au Okoa*, 5 Feb. 1866: [2]; "Ka Po Le'a O Halalii!" *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 13 Nov. 1896: 1.
- <sup>9</sup> Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaii Chinese History Center and UP of Hawaii, 1980) 149–50; Franklin Odo and Kazuko Sinoto, *A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawai'i 1885–1924* ([Honolulu]: Hawai'i Immigrant Heritage Preservation Center, Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1985) 123; "Theatre Royal China Town," *HG* 22 Feb. 1882: [3].
- <sup>10</sup> Richard Traubner, *Operetta; A Theatrical History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983) 150.
- <sup>11</sup> "Musical," *PCA* 26 Nov. 1863: [2]; "Musical Concert," 20 Apr. 1867: [3]; Clarice Taylor, "Tales of Hawaii," *HSB* 1 May 1950: 24.
- <sup>12</sup> P 18 Sept. 1847: 71; Gavan Daws, "The Decline of Puritanism at Honolulu in the Nineteenth Century," *HJH* 11 (1967): 33; "No Liquor License for the Orpheum," *F* 57.12 (December 1899): 96.

- <sup>13</sup> Willard Wilson, "The Theatre in Hawaii Before 1900," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 35:3 (1949): 304-309, contains valuable information about drama in nineteenth-century Honolulu theaters; Charles W. Stoddard, *The Island of Tranquil Delights* (Boston: H. B. Turner, 1905) 194; *P* 24 June 1848: 22; *HAA for 1881* (Honolulu: Thomas G. Thrum, 1880): 36; *P* 10 Sept. 1853: 70; "The Late Great Fire," *P* 14 July 1855: 38; Thomas G. Thrum, "Honolulu Sixty Years Ago," *HAA for 1915* (Honolulu: Thomas G. Thrum, 1914): 50.
- <sup>14</sup> "The Music Hall," *PCA* 16 Aug. 1883: [3]; "But the Four Walls Stand," *PCA* 13 Feb. 1895: 1; "Rises Phoenix-Like," *PCA* 7 Nov. 1896: 1; "Retrospect for 1898," *HAA for 1899* (Honolulu: Press Publishing Co., 1898): 154; "The Orpheum," *PCA* 3 Nov. 1898: 1.
- <sup>15</sup> *P* 6 Nov. 1847: 98; Henry L. Sheldon, "Reminiscences of Theatricals," *HAA for 1881* (Honolulu: Thomas Thrum, 1880): 38; "Hawaiian Opera House Redivivus," *HAA for 1897* (Honolulu: Press Publishing Co., 1897): 103; Blaisdell Concert Hall Technical Information, revised 11 Aug. 1994, supplied by concert hall staff; *P* 29 Apr. 1848: 199; "Social Life in the Tropics," *PCA* 2 Jan. 1869: [4]; *HAA for 1905* (Honolulu, Thomas G. Thrum, 1904): 29; "The Orpheum," *PCA* 3 Nov. 1898: 1; "The Beggar Student," *PCA* 29 May 1900: 1; "Opera of Faust," *PCA* 15 Dec. 1899: 9.
- <sup>16</sup> *New Era and Weekly Argus*, 5 Jan. 1854: [3]; *P* 18 Sept. 1847: 71; Leathes, *An Actor Abroad* 97; "The Music Hall," *PCA* 16 Aug. 1883: [3]; "The Second Performance," *PCA* 11 Apr. 1890: [3]; "A Brilliant Success," *PCA* 9 Mar. 1891: [3]; "Rises Phoenix-Like," *PCA* 7 Nov. 1896: 1, 2; "The 'Orpheum,'" *PCA* 3 Nov. 1898: 1.
- <sup>17</sup> *P* 10 Sept. 1853: 70; "The Drama," *Honolulu Times* 7 Aug. 1850: [2], "The Music Hall," *PCA* 16 Aug. 1883: [3]; "Rises Phoenix-Like," *PCA* 7 Nov. 1896: 1; Stoddard, *Island of Tranquil Delights* 192-93; "Rises Phoenix-Like," *PCA* 7 Nov. 1896: 2.
- <sup>18</sup> The journal of minutes for the AMS is in the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. *PCA* 29 Dec. 1859: [3]; "Band Concert," *PCA* 5 Apr. 1900: 7; "Moonlight Concert," 9 Apr. 1900: 13.
- <sup>19</sup> *PCA* 17 Feb. 1866: [4]; Nicholas Temperley, "Bishop, Anna," and Harold Rosenenthal, "Di Murska, Ilma," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: Macmillan, 1980) 2: 741, 5: 482; Stoddard, *Island of Tranquil Delights* 202-04; Cornel Lengyel, ed., *Celebrities in El Dorado 1850-1906*, vol. 4 in *History of Music in San Francisco* (WPA History of Music Project, 1940); reprint, San Francisco: AMS Press, 1972, 13-14. Recital programs by Bishop, Hayes, D'Ormay, and Di Murska are in the Hawai'i State Archives.
- <sup>20</sup> "Wreck of the 'Libelle,'" *F* 1 Sept. 1866, n.s., 17:9: 86.
- <sup>21</sup> *The Biographical Encyclopedia and Who's Who of the American Theatre* (New York: James H. Heineman, 1960) 1095.
- <sup>22</sup> Handbill for "Opera and Tragedy Night," Hawai'i State Archives; *Daily Alta California* 28 Nov. 1853: [2], 26 Nov. 1853: [2]; Katherine K. Preston, *Opera on the Road: Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825-60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993) 228-29.

- <sup>23</sup> "All do allow it" was probably a translation of *Chacun le sait*; "Yes we must part" a translation of *Il faut partir*; these and the "Rataplan" were from Act I. Roger Lax and Frederick Smith, *The Great Song Thesaurus* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1984) 361.
- <sup>24</sup> Lengyel, *Celebrities in El Dorado* 4-6; "Amusements," *Daily Alta California* 6 May 1859: [2], 28 June 1859: [2]; Thomas G. Kaufman, *Verdi and his Major Contemporaries: A Selected Chronology of Performances With Casts* (New York: Garland, 1990) 293, 383, 398; handbill of Bianchis' 7 April 1862 Honolulu concert in Hawai'i State Archives; "Italian Opera Troupe," *PCA* 10 Apr. 1862: [2]; "Operatic Selections and Concerts," *P* 12 Apr. 1862: [2].
- <sup>25</sup> Two UH master's theses contain much information about operatic performance in Hawai'i in the later nineteenth century: Thelma Brown, "A History of the Theater in Honolulu During the Reign of Kamehameha V, 1863-1872" (1942), and Helen Topham, "A History of the Theater in Honolulu 1891 to 1900" (1950). See also "The Italian Opera," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 July 1871: 3; George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, vol. 8, 1865-1870 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936) 474 *et passim*; Harold Love, *The Golden Age of Australian Opera* (Sydney: Currency Press, 1981) 215-16; playbills of States Company's Honolulu performances on 7, 26, and 30 October and 6 November 1871 are in the Hawai'i State Archives; *HG* 11 Oct. 1871: [3]; "The Opera," *HG* 1 Nov. 1871: [3]; "The Opera," *PCA* 28 Oct. 1871: [3]; "The Opera," *PCA* 4 Nov. 1871: [3].
- <sup>26</sup> "The Montague-Turner Concert," *HG* 20 May 1885: [3], 27 May 1885: [3]; *Daily Bulletin* 29 May 1885: [3], 2 June, 1885: [3]; *HG* 1 July 1885: [3], 24 June 1885: [3].
- <sup>27</sup> Clarice Taylor, "Tales about Hawaii," *HSB* 14 Apr. 1950: 28, 15 Apr. 1950: 30, 17 Apr. 1950: 22, 18 Apr. 1950: 22, 27 Apr. 1950: 36, 28 Apr. 1950: 28, 29 Apr. 1950: 30, 1 May 1950: 24; "Miss Annis Montague," *PCA* 7 May 1892: [6]; "A Honolulu Song Bird," 7 Nov. 1895: 6; "The English Opera," *New York Times* 15 Oct. 1875: 6; Deane L. Root, *American Popular Stage Music 1860-1880* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981) 162-64; "American Opera at the Academy," *New York Times* 27 Sept. 1879: 4; *PCA* 9 July 1881: [3], 16 Apr. 1883: [2]; Love, *Golden Age of Australian Opera* 273; "Mrs. Annis Turner Honolulu Kamaaina Dies in Coast City," *HSB* 13 Sept. 1920: 7.
- <sup>28</sup> *PCA* 1 Sept. 1885: [2]; full-page advertisement for Farini troupe, *PCA* 5 Oct. 1885; Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* vol. 9, 1870-1875 (1937) 648, vol. 10, 1875-1879 (1938) 112; Berger journal for 1885 in Hawai'i State Archives; "The Farini Opera Troupe," *HG* 27 Oct. 1885: [3].
- <sup>29</sup> "Comedy Company Coming," *PCA* 30 June 1890: [4]; "Tivoli Comedy Company," *PCA* 23 July 1890: [3].
- <sup>30</sup> "Amusements," *Daily Alta California* 27 Jan. 1891: 4; "The Opera Season," *PCA* 25 Feb. 1891: [3]; "A Brilliant Success," *PCA* 9 Mar. 1891: [3].
- <sup>31</sup> "Governor Lind," *PCA* 8 Sept. 1899: 10; "Boston Lyric Company," *PCA* 20 Sept. 1899: 5; "Henry Hallam," *PCA* 23 Sept. 1899: 5; "Opera of Faust," *PCA* 15 Dec. 1899: 9.

- <sup>32</sup> "About the Lyrics," *PCA* 24 Oct. 1899: 5; "Carmen," *PCA* 24 Nov. 1899: 14; "Trovatore Last Night," *PCA* 29 Dec. 1899: 16.
- <sup>33</sup> "The Local Theaters," *San Francisco Chronicle* 9 Apr. 1899: 5; "Come to Sing," *PCA* 25 May 1900: 3; "Cohen States the Facts," *EB* 2 June 1900: 1; "The Orpheum to Close," *PCA* 4 July 1900: 4.
- <sup>34</sup> *PCA* 11 Mar. 1891: [2]; "Best Comic Opera," *EB* 20 Nov. 1899: 1; "Why the Opera Was Short," *PCA* 22 Nov. 1899: 10; "Boston Lyrics Have Won," *EB* 1 Nov. 1899: 1.
- <sup>35</sup> *HG* 25 Oct. 1871: [3]; *HG* 27 May 1885: [3], 27 Oct. 1885: [3]; "Operatic Selections and Concerts," *P* 12 Apr. 1862; *PCA* 30 Sept. 1871: [2]; "Last Night's Concert," *DB* 19 May 1885: [3]; "Lyrics at the Orpheum," *EB* 26 Dec. 1899: 1.
- <sup>36</sup> Dunn, "Honolulu's Developing Dramatic and Musical Talent," 126.
- <sup>37</sup> Roger Hickman, "Hawai'i's First Opera," *Journal of the West* 22.3 (July 1983): 58–64; *Journal of the Amateur Musical Society*, 75; Sophia Cracroft in Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors* (Honolulu, U of Hawai'i P, 1958) 31; Edwin P. Hoyt, *Davies: The Inside Story of a British-American Family in the Pacific and its Business Enterprise* (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Co., 1983) 60.
- <sup>38</sup> Preston, *Opera on the Road* 13–16.
- <sup>39</sup> Root, *American Popular Stage Music* 165–66; San Francisco Theatre Research, Monograph 17, *History of Opera in San Francisco*, pt. I, vol. 7 of first series: 106; "The Theatre," *PCA* 21 Feb. 1880: [3].
- <sup>40</sup> "Our Amateur Company Performing 'Pinafore,'" *PCA* 21 May 1881: [4]; "Performance of 'Trial by Jury' at the Music Hall," *PCA* 16 Dec. 1882: [3]; "Hawaiian Opera House," *PCA* 12 Nov. 1888: [2]; "The Mikado," *PCA* 8 Apr. 1890: [3].
- <sup>41</sup> "The Juvenile Amateurs," *EB* 29 June 1891: [3]; "The Sorcerer," *EB* 28 Sept. 1891: [3]; Stanley Sadie, ed., *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992), 1: 843; Odell, *Annals* vol. 11, 1879–1882 (1939): 63 and vol. 12, 1882–1885 (1940): 1 and *passim*; San Francisco Theatre Research, *History of Opera in San Francisco*, pt. I: 106.
- <sup>42</sup> "Opera a Success," *PCA* 9 Nov. 1896: 1; *Saturday Press* 21 May 1881: [3]; "The Mikado," *PCA* 9 Apr. 1890: [3]; "Iolanthe," *PCA* 29 June 1891: [3].
- <sup>43</sup> Preston, *Opera on the Road* 312; *PCA* 15 May 1882: [3]; Odell, *Annals* vol. 8, 1865–1870 (1936) 352 *et passim*, vol. 9, 1870–1875 (1937) 471 *et passim*, vol. 14, 1888–1891 (1945): 644, vol. 15, 1891–1894 (1949): 225 *et passim*; *Daily Alta California* 8 Jan. 1882: [4]; *PCA* 13 May: [2] and 15 May 1882: [2]; *Saturday Press* 13 May 1882: [3].
- <sup>44</sup> Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1968; paper edition Macmillan Company, 1974): 237–38; "The Kaimiloa," *PCA* 18 May 1887: [2]; "Amateur Minstrels," *PCA* 30 May 1887: [3].